// THE JOURNAL
OF
SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.

Vol. VIII. January, 1874. No. 1.

ROSENKRANZ ON HEGEL'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Translated from the German of Dr. K. ROSENKRANZ, by G. S. HALL.

The third great work which Michelet elaborated from Hegel's posthumous papers was the History of Philosophy. This subject was treated with very unequal merit in its different parts. Ancient philosophy is treated as a totality, and its presentation is quite uniform and is made from original authorities; that of the middle ages is very inorganic, and is composed from secondary sources and with the manifest wish to get through it as quickly as possible. Recent philosophy again is studied exhaustively from original sources, although more according to the chronological succession of the chief systems than in a proper historico-genetic bearing and construction. Often there are only extracts from cardinal works, with brief introductions and critical remarks, which give a rich fulness of insight in pithy, characteristic words; and the readiness with which he assumes a kind of frank superiority aids him here to the most happy and vigorous periods.

Hegel prepared for no other undertaking so carefully as for this History. He exhaustively wrought out the determination of its domain, its distinction from related departments, its position in the system, its divisions, its ordinary conception, its sources, and its necessary method of treatment. The History of Philosophy records facts, but facts which are

thoughts, and not merely thoughts in general, but such as have the conception of the absolute for their content; if it states, in a merely objective way, that a philosopher then and there taught this or that, it remains without a connective idea. It should rather show how the thoughts of different philosophers are developed from one another, what relation subsists between the false and the true in a given philosophy, and how progress cannot refute its previous stand-point as a mere error without at the same time confirming its positive content. All philosophies in and for themselves are only philosophy itself. The system of philosophy must integrate all stand-points as organic moments, as categories of its different spheres.

Philosophers do not elaborate their systems apart from all connection with universal history. It is often thought that they project unique ideas of God and the world from purely speculative idiosyncrasy, while in fact they stand in the most intimate relation with the spirit of peoples and with the movement of mankind. They seek to fathom, by solitary reflection, that which more or less engages all contemporaries, and to express with all possible clearness what is often the open secret of the age. When the sequence of philosophical systems appears only as a gallery of fortuitous opinions, nothing seems more comfortless than the study of the history of philosophy, and nothing but superficial skepticism, the profane stand-point of a Pilate, can be the result. Criticism, according to Hegel, does not consist in applying the measure of one presupposed system upon another, or upon all systems. It should arise from the development of a system as its own critique, in which the consequences of its stand-point reveal the imperfections which it involves, and at the same time disclose the positive germ which constitutes its imperishable truth and thereby its historic right. Philosophy must be learned from the history of philosophy. Hegel would say that philosophy, as well as every other science which has a name—or, as we often say, an authority—may recall a necessary and eternally true conception. Harvey and the discovery of the circulation of the blood, Copernicus and the true theory of our planetary system, are synonyms. So too, in philosophy. The Eleatic stand-point

and the conception of self-identical Being, Plato and the conception of true, affirmative dialectics, Aristotle and the conception of teleology, &c., are all identical. Were this not so, philosophizing would be entirely without results, which is indeed a very common view of it, ascribing to it at most the utility of a certain formal exercise of thought. The highest system is not merely an external summation of foregoing systems, but their vital unity, which sublates them into itself, and thereby acquires for itself new illumination and a relatively changed significance. Hegel claimed to have harvested into his own the truth of all preceding systems, and not merely to have gathered them synthetically into a syncretistic aggregate, but rather to have posited them at the same time analytically with immanent dialectics and as self-producing and cancelling moments of the totality. It should not be imagined, as it often is, that he expected to find, point for point, in history the sequence of the determinations of his system, or, in its determinations, to find the temporal succession of philosophers, although on the whole a marked coincidence might be admitted. In a philosophy one side of the absolute will be emphasized as its qualitative element, but from it the philosopher will seek to apprehend and present the whole; as Plato not only established the conception of dialectics, but from it sought to develope the conception of nature and mind.

In the perfect and clear consciousness which Hegel had concerning the process of the history of philosophy down to his own time, he stands alone among modern philosophers: I say modern, because among the ancients Aristotle took a similar position, as his Introduction to Metaphysics and his other numerous references to other philosophers show. Leibnitz also was unusually well versed in the history of philosophy, as his treatise *De arte combinatoria* especially shows; but he lacked the proper conception of its inner connection, which gave Hegel so great superiority and externally so great repose. Brucker, Tennemann, and Buhle, Hegel's predecessors in this department, were perhaps superior to him in the extent of their erudition, but they lacked depth of speculative penetration, imitative vitality of reproduction, and the sharpness of universal criticism, which is not confined

within the circle of Wolffian or Kantian categories. When Hegel expounds foreign systems, he does not merely quote the decisive words in the language of the original—all the others do that—but he translates and expounds them; and it is this attempt at correct objective apprehension which throws a charm over such passages, as well as the exquisite tact with which he discriminates between the essential and the unessential, the philosophical and the unphilosophical.

According to human seeming, it is much to be regretted that Hegel was not himself permitted to bring the history of philosophy out of the crude state of lecture-manuscripts to full maturity and perfection for the public. What an entirely different finishing it would then have received, and how the grouping of single parts would have been transformed! As it is, it is invaluable, and has exercised a most abiding influence upon the elaboration of this discipline. In its philosophical content it is classic, but in form it is imperfect. From single extracts we may compute what he sought to have achieved. His presentation of Plato's system, made with such predilection and perfection, deserves especial praise. Other historians, e.g. Brandis, in his history of ancient philosophy, has presented a very true and comprehensive picture of the Platonic doctrine, but it is dry and cold; so that, with all the citations which he printed under the text, we can attain to no vital understanding, to no penetration into the real essence of Plato's system. The poetic endowment and the myth-building phantasy of Plato have been ever admired, but where, down to Hegel, do we find a single rational word concerning the relation of this mythic system to speculation proper? Hegel does not merely refer, but, as a philosopher, coöperates in the formation of a principle; he strives with the striver, and this invests his statements, even where æsthetically they are unsatisfactory, with an infinite charm. We feel ourselves transported to the secret laboratory of thought where mind thirsts for knowledge. How many and voluminous reproductions of Spinoza's Ethics and of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason we have had within the past century, and how weary we became in reading them, and how duped with the expectation that now the true light was about to dawn upon us; while the brief, somewhat slovenly pre-

sentation of Hegel, penetrating however with freedom into the ground of the subject, enlightens us at once! This he did often, with a sort of rude pedagogical manner, even in dealing with the greatest philosophers.

It might be expected in the construction of this History that Hegel would divide it into Oriental, Antique, and Christian. This he essentially did. Yet he is unwilling to recognize Oriental philosophy. He makes a beginning first with the Greeks because they first formed states with free constitutions, and true philosophy is impossible without political freedom. He discourses nevertheless upon Chinese and Indian philosophy. It has been often remarked that the abstractions of the Oriental world do not suffice for the critical estimates of concrete history. The Chinese and Hindoos have not philosophized like the Greeks, but they have philosophized. The Chinese, as rational moralists, have cultivated practical philosophy; the Hindoos, as essentially religious men, have cultivated metaphysics and psychology. How can the Chinese Mengtseu, who vindicated to the inhabitants of a state under certain conditions the *jus revolutionis* against their prince, from the conception of the state, be called other than a philosopher? This he did not do as a poet, or a prophet, or a priest, but as a prosy-thinking Confucian.

Or, among the Hindoos, can Kanada, whom Hegel mentions on account of his doctrine of categories, be refused the name of philosopher? After all it avails nothing, especially since the further investigations in this domain since Hegel's death, to seek either to ignore or to exclude the Orientals; for they have philosophized, though they have taken a lower standpoint than the Greeks.

The History of Ancient Philosophy is Hegel's historical master-piece. Details may be disputed, here and there he may be corrected and supplemented, as Zeller has done; but in essentials he is correct, and in the delineation of details he is unsurpassable. He preserves his power to the end, while that of historians often falters before Neo-platonism. They generally excuse themselves by loudly disparaging it as eclecticism and mysticism, so that we seek in vain for a clear conception of it, and are lost in wonder that philoso-

phers like Plotinus and Proclus, who have evidently studied Plato and Aristotle profoundly, should have erred so extravagantly.

The History of Mediæval Philosophy, in spite of a few genial touches, is the weakest of all his works. He had a general dislike for the middle ages. To him it was an age of barbarism, where little that was congenial was to be found. Erdmann, a follower of Hegel, in his admirable text-book on the History of Philosophy, has especially treated scholasticism after the French, e.g. Cousin, Rousselot, Hauréau, and others, had preceded him.

Respecting Hegel's disposition and criticism of Arabic and Jewish philosophers there is much to be said, but this would take us too far from our proper theme. We must conclude the same also with reference to the History of Modern Philosophy. It is too desultory, and lacks, from the effort at compendious abridgment in order to hurry through with the material before the end of the semester, a formal completeness. It becomes, in fact, even more difficult to follow and describe the movements of thought in Modern Europe, because, by the mediation of printing, the diffusion of systems has become much more rapid and wide, and extends from nation to nation in a way and to a degree which cannot be estimated, so that a wide margin must be left for chance; but especially because religious (or more properly ecclesiastical and political) interests now play so great a part. The crossing of systems, and the number of hybrid formations and of syncretic mediation, as well as the numerous efforts which have the appearance of originality, but which are often the misunderstood reproductions of long anterior systems, grows towards infinity. How much of all this mass deserves notice? The literary historian of philosophy is unquestionably bound to register subordinate and even inferior authorities, the philosophical author must be allowed to confine himself to the epoch-making central figures. If principles are strictly adhered to, the divisions of the history of philosophy, in accordance with those of universal history, will be found to arrange themselves very simply about the antithesis of ethnicism and monotheism, and their sublation into Christianity.

I. The Philosophy of Ethnicism.
  1. Chinese philosophy; realism.
  2. Indian philosophy; idealism.
  3. Græco-Roman philosophy; ideal realism.

II. Philosophy of Monotheism.

The Jews and the Mohammedans have themselves produced no independent philosophy, because they were under no necessity to do so. Only by contact with the Greeks were they impelled to make the attempt to construe the world of thought in accordance with their faith, as was first done by Philo with extraordinary acuteness and with remarkable phantasy. The vast number of the philosophical writings of the Arabians must not make us forget their dependence upon the Greeks. All finally centres about the substantive and operative predicates of God. Christian scholastics have borrowed from the Arabs and Jews, but the converse has never taken place. Christians quote Averrhoës and Moses Maimonides, but Arabs and Jews do not quote Abelard and Thomas Aquinas.

III. The Philosophy of Christianity.
  A. First period: the philosophy of faith. 1. Gnosticism. 2. Patristic philosophy. 3. Scholasticism.
  B. Second period: philosophy as an independent science. 1. The reaction of national individuality against ecclesiastical scholasticism. (*a*) Dogmatism in Italy; Platonic in Florence, Peripatetic in Lombardy, individualistic in Campania. Bruno, Vanini, Campanella. (*b*) Skepticism in France; Pierre de la Ramée, Sanchez, La Mothe le Vayer, Montaigne, Charron, Gassendi. (*c*) Empiricism in England; Bacon of Verulam (already anticipated by the scholastic Roger Bacon). (*d*) Theosophy in Germany; Paracelsus, Weigel, Jacob Böhme. 2. Philosophy as a rational science. (*a*) The idealism of the principle of substantiality; (α) Cartesius, (β) Spinoza, (γ) Leibnitz. It recedes partly into mysticism and scholasticism. (*b*) Realism of the principle of subjectivity as *éclaircissement* of the understanding; (α) in the sensism and skepticism of England, (β) in the materialism and atheism of France, (γ) in the eudæmonism and deism of Germany. (*c*) Kant's critical idealism and the systematic formation of philosophy resulting therefrom.

Let this simple outline be kept in mind and it will not be difficult to group into their proper place all the enlargements of a principle, its amalgamation with others, its often striking correlation with seemingly contradictory potencies, without forced or artificial constructions. What Hegel says respecting individual thinkers is always profound, but his construction is not free from confusion, and often conceals the natural course of development which he followed. What is individual also naturally finds its proper place in the epochs here indicated, and thus the colossal genius of Kant, who first grasped together the antithesis of the subjective and objective principle in a truly scientific synthesis, may be recognized even more justly than it has been done by Hegel.

The history and the absolute system of philosophy should, according to Hegel, cover the same ground. There should be found in history no system, of which the principle wherein lies its truth and its justification, cannot be proved to be an organic moment of the systematic totality. Thus the history constitutes the critique of the system of philosophy, and the system the critique of the history. By this, of course, it is not to be understood that the same stand-point may not be empirically repeated in history, i.e. Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Epicureanism, Stoicism, Scholasticism, Materialism, &c., may appear repeatedly, and thus far they belong to history; but, first, they would always appear in new connections, which, in the general identity of its principle, would individualize it again and again; and, secondly, they would always be final stand-points to which history had advanced from former stand-points which here became merely relative. Hegel himself furnishes a very plain example of this. In his characterization of Proclus, it is plain that he fully accords with him in his general apprehension of the idea as a triad of triads. He commends Proclus because he so affirms the unity of the absolute that every triad within its own peculiar domain is at the same time a totality, because otherwise they could not harmonize with one another. He commends him because he distinguished triads as essence, life, and mind (*οὐσιωδῶς, ζωτικῶς, νοερῶς εἶναι*). He commends him because, in the conception of essence, following the Philebus of Plato, he distinguished limit, the unlimited, and measure (*πέρας,*

ἄπειρον, μέτρον, or, as Proclus says, συμμετρία), precisely as Hegel himself began with the categories of quality, quantity, and measure. He commends him because he characterizes the νοῦς as the return (ἐπιστροφή) to the logical idea, just as he himself did, &c. Is Hegel's system, therefore, a mere repetition of that of Proclus? Certainly not. Contrasted with Hegel's system that of Proclus is only an abstract sketch with tedious and diffuse dialectics, with nature wrapped in shadows, and with a superabundance of artificial theology, while the logical idea of Hegel becomes real flesh and blood, and freedom organizes itself into the concrete form of the State. Mention had often been made of a law in the History of Philosophy. Dogmatism, skepticism, and criticism; or objectivity, subjectivity, and the absolute; or idealism, realism, and ideal realism; or analytic, synthetic, and eclectic systems, had succeeded one another; it is also quite right to discern such connections, because every one-sidedness engenders its antithesis, and the antithesis demands sublation into a higher unity, but, since the element of chance pervades history, no scheme can be established as an unconditional norm without incurring the danger of putting a forced construction upon facts. The principal fact ever remains that every system does criticize itself in its own consequences, and thus aids in producing from itself a relatively higher stand-point. This Hegel saw more profoundly than any of his predecessors, and explained most admirably, in the Introduction to his History, as the conception of the development of philosophy. This idea embraces what is sought for under the name of a philosophy of the history of philosophy, or a law for its process. Because Hegel believed that he had articulated all essential stand-points, of both previous and contemporary systems, into their proper place in his system as organic moments of the idea, he rightly regarded it not merely as the most perfect and complete, but as the most critical, because a vital unity pervaded all parts of the whole, and thus, in an immanent way, brought to bear, not only positively but negatively, a criticism of details.

COMPLETION OF THE HEGELIAN SYSTEM IN THE SECOND EDITION OF THE "ENCYCLOPEDIA" IN 1827.

The exoteric occasion of a new edition of his Encyclopedia determined Hegel to make his system as accessible as possible from without. This he could not do without foregoing further discussion upon its subject-matter, and striving to give to it a finished and final form. This edition, which was completed but a short time before his death, remained unaltered. He added a new chapter to the Introduction, in which he presented the attitude of thought towards objectivity, as metaphysics of the understanding, as empiricism, as critical philosophy, and as immediate knowledge. He gave greater scope to philosophy of nature, psychology, and to practical philosophy, and shed light on many questions of the day, e.g. the relation of philosophy to religion, the conception of state constitutions and of the budget, and in how far the name *law* was unfitting for a pecuniary grant, &c. The simple articulation of the whole suffered from the addition of these didactic ornaments.

His Philosophy of Nature, a department of such intense interest for our age, was printed, in the general edition of his works, with the appendices which Michelet gathered from Hegel's lectures in this field. Valuable as these are, it is still to be regretted that he did not treat this science as exhaustively as he did the Æsthetics, or Philosophy of Histotory, or the Philosophy of Religion. The form of a commentary upon paragraphs as they occur in a text-book brings unavoidable repetitions, misplacements, and, from the nature of the material treated, great contingency. In the sciences of organic nature these appendices sink to the rank of mere extracts which Hegel had made, for the purpose of his own study, from Treviranus, Authenrieth, Bichat, &c. We may, however, hence infer to how great an extent, and with what extraordinary attentiveness, he pursued empirical sciences, while at the same time the wish becomes strong to see this mass more clearly and sharply organized. We may conclude from many merely casual and passing expressions that Hegel was not wanting in a poetic sense for nature, as is often affirmed of him; but that the picture of the phenomenon,

which hung before him clear in all its most exquisite details, became often very loosely bound by its logical frame, and that much which is admirable and original—which indeed is often found—did not attain to the reality to which it was entitled on account of this incompleteness. It is to an Italian philosopher, August Vera, that the great merit belongs of having translated Hegel's Philosophy of Nature into French, and of furnishing it with an admirable commentary in which the peculiarity and fruitfulness of Hegel's intuitions on nature are convincingly exhibited.

Recent natural science declares that nature can be conceived only atomically. It is resolved, it asserts, to proceed only empirically; its method must be inductive, i.e. analytical. An atom however is an hypothesis, for experience cannot make it a subject of observation. Instead of being empiric, it is also metaphysical; instead of being inductive, it is deductive. The atom, it is said, is matter as the infinitely small, which is absolutely unchangeable. In order that a movement of atoms may become possible, a void must, in the second place, be postulated for it, which the originators of this doctrine quite rightly did. This void modern thought has determined to be not merely space but æther. Since, then, æther must be distinguished from space, it has been found necessary to make it also consist of atoms, so that we have on the one hand the atoms of æther, and on the other the atoms of concrete materiality. In order that they may not be idle, a repellant force is ascribed to the former and an attractive force to the latter. All these fictions aim to give to the phenomena of nature a purely mechanical basis, and to subject them to the laws of the calculus. Since physical and especially chemical processes cannot thus be reached, a warm envelop has been ascribed to atoms. Thus they are made small planets.

All the real progress of recent natural science has been made by observation conducted according to the conclusions of induction and analogy. The atomic theory and its calculus has contributed nothing to this progress, but has rather obstructed and limited it. The category of quantity is in great requisition for the processes and forms of nature; but this must not, because it necessarily contains the extremes

of the infinitely large and the infinitely small, be identified with atomism.

The Hegelian philosophy of nature is very far from undervaluing mathematics. It has expressly accepted it as a moment of natural science, but, in place of the artificial constraint which is put upon natural phenomena by premature expression in number, it seeks to posit the realism of spontaneous self-formation. The work of arithmetical formalism depends only upon the facts upon which the computations are made. If the former are false, the latter are barren. Very important rectifications, e.g., have become necessary in modern astronomy for the distances between the sun and the planets, as a result alone of a more accurate measurement of the velocity of light.

Hegel attempts to apply dialectics to the scientific treatment of nature. He did this himself in a very imperfect way, but there is no doubt that science will be compelled to come back eventually to this method. He distinguishes (1) Mechanics, (2) Physics, (3) Organics. If we put in their place the content of these special sciences, we shall have (1) Matter, (2) Force, (3) Life. If we translate these conceptions into abstract categories, they will read, (1) Substantiality, (2) Causality, (3) Teleology.

According to the Hegelian method, each of these spheres has an immanent conformity to law in itself, which becomes phenomenal (1) as weight, (2) as qualitative change, (3) as determination of form. But these differences sublate themselves, as consecutive, both forward and backward. The truth of matter is force, and the truth of force is life. Life, as the absolute end of nature, presupposes the other spheres as its conditions. Of late only matter and force are talked of, though form is equally important in nature, because, by virtue of it, first the individual, and then life, become possible. Organic cells are now treated atomically in order to construct organisms as mere mechanisms from them, but the cell is essentially an individualizing power developing itself into a distinct shape. It is not enough to say that organism is endowed with vital force, for the former is, through and through, the *nisus formandi*, according to Blumenbach, or inner conformity to an end, according to Kant.

Hegel's apprehension of the conception of life is profound, but its depth is but little elaborated in the extent of the thousand-fold forms of nature, i.e. all morphology is omitted.

Hegel believes the earth to be the only star upon which life exists. This may easily excite surprise, and it is readily admitted that, empirically, we cannot know whether or not organic beings exist upon other stars, e.g. Venus and Mars. As a strict systematizer, however, he could not do otherwise than vindicate to the Earth this superiority. Bessel, in a treatise on the physical constitution of the world, and Whewell, in his "Plurality of Worlds," have arrived at the same result. The further conclusion that, in the entire universe, a history has been unfolded only upon the Earth, is unavoidable.

The infinite multiplicity of the heavenly bodies did not embarrass Hegel. This he regarded as a "mere" infinity which was no more imposing than the infinite multiplicity of infusoria, or insects, &c. He disapproves of the measureless admiration of natural phenomena which placed them above the productions of mind. Thus a tiny infusorium, because it was a living individual, stood infinitely higher than a constellation which is inorganic, although ever so gigantic in its mass.

INTRODUCTION TO SPECULATIVE LOGIC AND PHILOSOPHY.

By A. VERA.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. *Preliminary Remarks to Legitimate Logic.*

We may now dismiss old Logic as artificial, arbitrary, and inadequate for the attainment of truth, and turn our attention to legitimate and rational Logic and to the principles upon which it must be firmly established.

First of all, it ought to be borne in mind that if there be a logical Science, it must be an absolute Science, or a part or division of the absolute Science. And by absolute Science, I mean a Science which inquires into, and is adequate to, the